## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05

AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NASA-01 NEA-09 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01

PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 NRC-05 /121 W

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PR 181810Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1466

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA

ERDA GERMANTOWN

USDEL SALT GENEVA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, CCD, PO, UK

SUBJECT: CCD 659TH PLENARY MEETING, MARCH 18, 1975

DISTO:

SUMMARY: POLISH AND UK REPS MADE GENERAL STATEMENTS. BOTH FOCUSED ON NUCLEAR ISSUES AND ENVIRONMENTAL MODILIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FICATIONS. POLISH REP STATED NPT REVIEW CONFER-

ENCE SHOULD "IN NO CASE" CONTEMPLATE REVISION OF TREATY, RAISED RAPACKI PLAN IN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE CONTEXT, AND CALLED ON CCD TO WORK OUT EARLY AGREEMENT ON ENMOD. UK REP EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF REV CON, SUGGESTED SUPPLEMENTING THRESHOLD TEST BAN WITH AGREEMENT LIMITING NUMBER AS WELL AS SIZE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS, AND RAISED NUMBER OF ANALYTIC QUESTIONS WHICH HE SAID NNEDED ANSWERING BEFORE THERE COULD BE MUCH PROGRESS TOWARD ENMOD AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

- 2. AMB WYZNER (POLAND), NOTING 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF END OF WORLD WAR II, SAW CAUSE FOR SATISFACTION THAT "PRESENT POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS" (ESPECCIALLY US-USSR DETENTE) OFFERED BETTER CHANCES FOR PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT EFFORTS "THAN EVER BEFORE." WYZNER WAS HEARTENED BY "GOOD CHANCE" FOR SALT AGREEMENT BASED ON VLADIVOSTOK FOUNDATIONS LATER THIS YEAR, AND CALLED SOVIET-UK JOINT NON PROLIFERATION GOOD AUGURY." AT THIS JUNCTURE, SAID, CCD HAD RARE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSOLIDATE DETENTE BY TRANSLATING IT INTO MEANINGFUL DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS. POLAND REGARDED CCD AS BEARING PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR (MULTILATERAL) DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. WYZNER QUOTED SYG'S MESSAGE AT OPENING OF CURRENT CCD SESSION: "ALTHOUGH WE HAVE HAD MANY DISAPPOINTMENTS AND ONLY LIMITED SUCCESS, WE MUST NOT GIVE UP."
- 2. AMONG SUBJECTS FOR CCD'S CONSIDERATION, WYZNER CALLED NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT NON-PROLIFERATION "UNQUETIONABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT." ABOVE ALL, POLAND WAS CONCERNED WITH ENSURING THAT EXISTING NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME, "AND ITS BACKBONE -- THE NPT-- IS REINFORCED AND MADE FULLY EFFECTIVE." UPCOMING NPT REV CON, WYZNER SAID, IN NO CASE SHOULD CONTEMPLATE ANY ATTEMPT AT REVISING TREATY WHICH SOV REP EARLIER IN SESSION HAD CALLED "MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENT OF OUR TIME." NOTING THAT SPREAD OF REACTORS AND REPROCESSING PLANTS WOULD "INEVITABLY RESULT IN VAST QUANTITIES OF READILY AVAILABLE FISSIONABLE MATERIAL TO BREED AN EVER DEEPER FEAR THAT THIS OR THAT COUNTRY MIGHT SUDDENLY 'GO NUCLEAR'", WYZNER NEVERTHELESS PROFESSED BELIEF THAT NPT WOULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ENABLE NATIONS OF WORLD TO COPE WITH THIS NEWLY COMPLEX AND PRECARIOUS SITUATION. TREATY WOULD SUCCEED, HE SAID, PROVIDED IT WAS REINFORCED BY WIDEST POSSIBLE ADHERENCE, ESPECIALLY BY "THRESHOLD" COUNTRIES.

3. ON NFZS, WYZNER CITED "WELL KNOWN" (POLISH) INITIA-TIVES ON DENUCLEARIZATION OF CENTRAL EUROPE, WHICH "REGRETTABLY HAD NOT BEEN ACTED UPON OWING TO NO FAULT OF OURS". HE SAID THAT DESPITE OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ELABORATE GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND GUIDELINES APPLICABLE TO ANY NFZ, AND THAT POLAND WAS READY TO PROVIDE EXPERT FOR NFZ STUDY. ON CTB, WYZNER SAW "TOTALLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF CERTAIN NUCLEAR POWERS TOWARD LTBT AND NPT" AS MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK DELAYING IF NOT PREVENTING SOLUTION OF QUESTION IN ONE MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT. REGARDING BAN ON UNDERGROUND TESTS, HE SAID PROGRESS HAD BEEN SLOWED FOR MANY YEARS BY "INTRANSIGENT INSISTENCE ON A VERIFICATION ON FORMULA CALLING FOR ON-SITE INSPECTION," BUT THOUGHT VERIFICATION SYSTEM ESTABLISHED ON BASIS OF CONTROL SYSTEM IN THRESHOLD TEST BAN COULD POINT TO SOLUTION OF PROBLEM.

- 4. ON PNES, WYZNER SAID PRACTICAL APPLICATION SEEMED TO BE STILL MATTER OF CONJECTURE, EXPECIALLY IN VIEW OF "STRINGENT ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION STANDARDS". IN DEALING WITH ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS OF PNES, HE SAID, CCD MUST BEAR IN MIND THAT NPT IS "THE MAJOR SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW" ON SUCH EXPLOSIONS. COMMITTEE, HE SUGGESTED, COULD MAKE USE OF DELIBERATIONS AND FINDINGS OF NFZ EXPERTS' GROUP WHICH WOULD BE LIKELY TO COVER PNES WHILE EXAMINING "ALL ASPECTS" OF NFZS PER UNGA RES.
- 5. WYZNER ALSO CALLED ENMOD MATTER FOR URGENT CCD ACTION, SAYING IT WOULD BE ASIER TO REACH AGREEMENT WHEREBY "NOVEL ARMS" COULD BE "NIPPED IN BUD" IN COMPARISON TO DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN EFFORTS TO PROSCRIBE "SOME DEEPLY ENTRENCHED AND WIDELY DEPLOYED WEAPONS." HE HOPED PROSPECT OF EARLY ENTRY INTO FORCE OF BW CONVENTION WOULD BE SIGNAL FOR "DEDICATED, EARLY AND LONG OVERDUE ACTION" WITH VIEW TO PROHIBITION OF CW, AND WELCOMED "INFORMATION THAT MEASURES HAVE NOW BEEN TAKEN TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IMPLEMENT" US-USSR SUMMIT AGREEMENT ON JOINT CCD INITIATIVE TOWARD CONVENTION ON MOST DANGEROUS, LETHAL FORMS OF CW.

- 6. AMB. ALLEN (UK) OPENED WITH MENTION OF BWC, CONFIRMING THAT UK HAD MET ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER ARTICLE II; IT HAD NO BW STOCKS. HE AGREED WITH EARLIER (US) SUGGESTION THAT OTHER PARTIES MAKE SIMILAR CONFIRMATIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION, AND WELCOMED US RATIFICATION OF 1925 GENEVA PROTOCOL AS "AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD."
- 7. ALLEN SAID UK REGARDED NON-PROLIFERATION AND NPT AS (BY) FAR THE MOST URGENT SUBJECT BEFORE WORLD DISARMAMENT COMMUNITY", AND NPT REVCON AS OCCASION OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE, AFFORDING "VITAL CHANCE" TO STRENGTHEN

AND EXTEND CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPON SPREAD. REVCON ALLEN SAID, SHOULD PROMOTE "SENSIBLE AND FLEXIBLE PROCESS OF MANAGEMENT", COVERING SEARCH FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, SAFEGUARDS AND OTHER MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT CIVIL NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS ARE NOT DIVERTED TO SERVE "WEAPONS OR EXPLOSIVE PURPOSES." CONFERENCE SHOULD SEEK INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH SECURITY OF ALL STATES, ESPECIALLY NNWS, IS ENHANCED, AND EXAMINE WAYS TO MEET DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' WISH THAT TREATY REGIME BE DEVELOPED IN MANNER ENABLING THEM TO SHARE MORE FULLY IN BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY.

8. ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS, ALLEN SAID UNDERLAY RECENT UK-SOVIET JOINT DECLARATION ON NON-PROLIFERATION. NOTING THAT DECLARATION SAID PARTIES WOULD WORK FOR AGREEMENTS

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LIMITING UNDERGROUND TESTS TO MINIMUM PENDING CTB, ALLEN SAID UK GOVT WONDERED WHETHER TTB, WHICH CONTAINS SIMILAR UNDERTAKING, COULD NOW BE "SUPPLEMENTED" BY AGREEMENT RESTRICTING NUMBER AS WELL AS SIZE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS. WHILE COMPREHENSIVE BAN REMAINED BLOCKED BY FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON "VITAL" VERIFICATION ISSUE, IT SEEMED TO UK THAT LIMITING NUMBER OF TESTS ALLOWED UNDER INTERIM AGREEMENT WOULD APPLY "INCREASLIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INGLY POWERFUL BRAKE" AGAINST DEVELOPMENT OF NEW NUCLEAR WAPONS SYSTEMS AND THUS REPRESENT PROGRASS TOWARD CTB.

9. ALLEN TOUCHED BRIEFLY ON NFZS, AGREEING WITH CANADIAN REP'S PREVIOUS STATEMENT THAT IT COULD BE DIFFICULT FOR AD HOC GROUP'S STUDTY TO IDENTIFY CRITERIA OR GUIDELINES FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH ZONES. UK, HE SAID, WOULD FIND IT VERY HARD TO RECOGNIZE AS NFZ ANY ARRANGEMENT WHICH PERMITTED DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES WITHIN AREA. HE THOUGHT CCD SHOULD WAIT UNTIL SUMMER SESSION BEFORE ADDRESSING PNES, IN ORDER TO BENEFIT FROM NPT REVCON DISCUSSIONS AND IAEA VIEWS.

10. ON NEW SUBJECTS BEFORE CCD, ALLEN DEVOTED MOST ATTENTION TO ENMOD. HE WELCOMED SOV REP(S PREVIOUS STATEMENT THAT LATTER INTENDED TO EXPLAIN USSR PROPOSAL TO COMMITTEE, SAYING UK THOUGHT EXPLANATIONS WERE INDEED INDICATED. UK HAD SUPPORTED INITIATIVE IN UNGA, BUT WAS CONSCIOUS OF "NEED TO IDENTIFY JUST WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO ACHIEVE, AND REACH COMMON DEFINITIONS AND COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS." NOTING THAT ENMOD TECHNIQUES ARE STILL FOR THE MOST PART "IN THEIR INFANCY", ALLEN QUESTIONED JUSTIFICATION FOR DETAILED LIST OF SUCH ACTIVITIES APPEARING IN ARTICLE II (1) OF SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION. UK, HE SAID, SAW MERIT IN "STEP BY STEP APPROACH" BEGINNING WITH BAN ON ACTIVITIES THAT ARE FEASIBLE OR "PROBABLY FEASIBLE" AT PRESENT TIME.

- 1. ALLEN THEN READ OUT LIST OF QUESTIONS, "NOT IN A CARPING SPIRIT," BUT AS ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY SOME BASIC ISSUES:
- (A) HOW TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN METHODS OF WARFARE WHOSE

PURPOSE IS DIRECTLY TO PERVERT OR USE NATURAL PHENOMENA AS AGENTS OF DAMAGE OR DESTRUCTION, AND THOSE WHICH MIGHT HAVE INCIDENTAL OR TEMPORARY EFFECT OF MODIFYING ENVIRONMENT?

(B) HOW TO DEFINE CONCEPT OF HOSTILE INTENT? (WHAT IF EFFECTS WERE HARMFUL BUT INTENT NOT HOSTILE?)

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- (C) HOW TO SAFEGUARD IN ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT INHERENT SELF-DEFENSE RIGHTS UNDER UN CHARTER ARTICLE 51?
  (D) HOW TO DEFINE SATISFACTORILY WEATHER MODIFICATION, CLIMATE MODIFICATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION, WHEN EACH SEEMED TO MERGE INTO THE OTHERS AND BECOME INDISTINGUISHABLE? (ALLEN REMARKED THAT WE MAY INDEED NEED TO DRAW DISTINCTIONS).
- (E) HOW TO LEAVE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACFUL ENMOD APPLICATIONS UNIMPARIED WHILE ENSURING THAT SUCH DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT CARRY MILITARY POTENTIAL?
- (F) WHAT ABOUT VERIFICATION? (ALLEN ADDED THAT SOME MODIFICATION TECHNIQUES MIGHT TAKE YEARS TO HAVE EFFECT; THEREFORE, VERIFICATION MAY BE REQUIRED TO ENSURE NOT ONLY THAT HOSTILE ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIONS ARE NOT TAKING' PLACE BUT THAT NO PREPARATIONS FOR SUCH ACTION ARE TAKING PLACE).

ABOVE QUESTIONS, ALLEN CONCLUDED, WERE PUT FORWARD BECAUSE UK CONSIDERED THAT ENMOD OFFERS PROSPECTS OF INITIATIVE ON WHICH CCD COULD ACHIEVE SPECIFIC AND WORTHWHILE AGREEMENT. HE AGREED WITH WYZNER THAT IT USUALLY IS EASIER TO CONTROL ARMS DEVELOPMENT AT EARLY STAGE AND THIS APPLIED TO NEW FIELD OF ENMOD.

12. NEXT PLENARY THURSDAY, MARCH 20. DALE

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: ENMOD, NPT, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, NEGOTIATIONS

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